

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LONDON 14748 01 OF 04 030904Z
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7970

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 LONDON 14748

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR, UK
SUBJECT: GOALS AND OBJECTIVES FOR AMBASSADORS

REF: STATE 205999

1. I AM IN ACCORD WITH ALL THE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN
REFTEL.

2. THIS MESSAGE:

A. SETS OUT A FRAMEWORK FOR POLICY WHICH OUTLINES
MY VIEWS ON TOP PRIORITY CONCERNS AND OBJECTIVES.
THESE ARE MEANT TO ENCOMPASS THE OPERATIONAL TARGETS

HELPFULLY OUTLINED IN THE REFTTEL; AND

B. SUGGESTS SOME SPECIFIC DETAILED MODIFICATION
AND SLIGHT EXPANSION OF THE REFTTEL OUTLINE OF GOALS AND
OBJECTIVES.

A. FRAMEWORK FOR POLICY.

3. UNLIKE THE CASE WITH ALMOST ANY OTHER COUNTRY, OUR
RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UK (EXCEPT ON SOME TRADE MATTERS)
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PAGE 02 LONDON 14748 01 OF 04 030904Z

IS ONE OF NEGOTIATION BETWEEN COLLABORATORS RATHER THAN
BETWEEN ADVERSARIES. THEREFORE, WHILE BRITAIN'S
MILITARY AND ECONOMIC POWER IS SEVERELY LIMITED, WE HAVE
A STAKE IN ENHANCING ITS INFLUENCE, AND THE BASIC
QUESTION THUS IS HOW TO MAKE BRITAIN A MORE USEFUL
INSTRUMENT OF OUR COMMON POLICIES AND SHARED PURPOSES,
WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT SOMETIMES THE BRITISH WILL ACT

ALONE IN HARNESS WITH US; SOMETIMES THEY WILL ACT THROUGH EUROPE OF THE NINE; AND SOMETIMES THEY WILL ACT THROUGH THE COMMONWEALTH.

4. THE TWO GREATEST THREATS TO UK INFLUENCE, IN MY VIEW ARE: (1) A LOSS OF SELF-CONFIDENCE AND SELF-REGARD AND (2) A GRADUAL POLARIZATION OF BRITISH SOCIETY AND POLICIES, WHOSE SYMPTOMS ALREADY ARE PERCEPTIBLE.

5. THEREFORE I WOULD STATE MY OBJECTIVES AS AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED KINGDOM OVER THE NEXT TWO OR THREE YEARS TO BE:

(1) TO HELP RESTORE AND STRENGTHEN BRITISH SELF-CONFIDENCE AND SELF-REGARD AS AN IMPORTANT INFLUENCE IN /WORLD AFFAIRS.

(2) TO HELP PREVENT OR MITIGATE THE TENDENCIES TOWARD THE POLARIZATION OF BRITISH SOCIETY AND POLITICS.

6. OBVIOUSLY THE FIRST OBJECTIVE SERVES AMERICAN INTERESTS IF IT LEADS TO BRITISH MAINTENANCE OF EXISTING MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC COMMITMENTS -- MULTI-LATERAL AS WELL AS BILATERAL. IT IS NOT IN OUR INTEREST TO HAVE THEM CURTAIL FURTHER EITHER THEIR NATO COMMITMENT OR THEIR DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.
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PAGE 03 LONDON 14748 01 OF 04 030904Z

7. THE WAY TO THIS END IS FOR THE EMBASSY TO SEEK CONSTANTLY TO ENGAGE THE BRITISH IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR POLICIES IN AREAS IN WHICH WE HAVE COMMON INTERESTS OR AT LEAST CONGRUENT INTERESTS -- I.E. IN GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS, EUROPE, SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, THE FAR EAST AND NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS; AND, IN FUNCTIONAL TERMS, SUCH AREAS AS ARMS CONTROL AND ENERGY POLICY. EVEN IN RELATION TO THE OTHER SUPER-POWER IT IS HELPFUL TO HAVE THE BRITISH ENGAGED, TO SEEK THEIR ADVICE, AND TO KEEP THEM FULLY INFORMED ABOUT OPTIONS WE ARE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING. ONLY IF THEY THINK THAT THEY CAN HAVE SOME IMPACT ON US WILL THEY BE A RELIABLE INSTRUMENT OF OUR POLICIES AND CONFIDENT ENOUGH TO PLAY THEIR PART EFFECTIVELY.

8. APART FROM THE DILIGENT PURSUIT OF THIS OBJECTIVE WITH APPROPRIATE MINISTRIES AND OFFICES, AND, AS APPROPRIATE, WITH THEIR OPPOSITION COUNTERPARTS, THE EMBASSY

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PAGE 01 LONDON 14748 02 OF 04 030908Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 LONDON 14748

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MUST DO WHAT IT CAN TO TRY TO COUNTER THE CURRENT ENGLISH
FAD OF POOR-MOUTHING THEMSELVES.

9. THE SECOND OBJECTIVE, AVOIDANCE OF POLARIZATION, IS
OBVIOUSLY OF CRUCIAL INTEREST TO THE UNITED STATES, LES
BRITAIN EVENTUALLY SLIP FROM THE VERY THIN RANKS OF
MODERATE AND FREE SOCIETIES. ITS ACHIEVEMENT DEPENDS
PRIMARILY ON GETTING BRITAIN ON AN UPWARD ECONOMIC
GROWTH CURVE. THIS, IN TURN, MEANS SUSTAINING A DEGREE
OF BRITISH SELF-DISCIPLINE ON WELFARE AND CONSUMPTION,
DESPITE THE NORTH SEA OIL RESPITE, SO THAT CAPITAL CAN
BE MOBILIZED FOR MODERNIZATION. THERE IS PROBABLY NOT
TOO MUCH THE EMBASSY CAN DO OTHER THAN ENCOURAGE PUBLIC
AND PRIVATE POLICIES (ESPECIALLY BY AMERICAN FIRMS) THAT
HAVE THIS EFFECT.

10. ECONOMIC GROWTH REQUIRES IMPROVEMENT IN THE PRO-
DUCTIVITY OF BOTH MANAGEMENT AND LABOR; ALSO THE
INTRODUCTION OF NEW PRODUCTS AND MODERN PROCESSES INTO
BRITISH BUSINESS. AGAIN THERE MAY BE LITTLE THE EMBASSY
CAN DO, BUT THIS IS ONE COUNTRY WHERE THERE IS A
SERIOUS UNITED STATES INTEREST IN ENCOURAGING AMERICAN
INVESTMENT OF KNOW-HOW, PROCESSES AND MANAGERIAL TALENT
IN THE CORPORATE SECTOR, NOT PRIMARILY FOR THE EARNINGS
WHICH MIGHT ACCRUE TO AMERICANS OR FOR THE EXPANSION OF
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PAGE 02 LONDON 14748 02 OF 04 030908Z

AMERICAN OWNERSHIP, BUT BECAUSE OF THE US STAKE IN THE MODERNIZATION OF THE BRITISH ECONOMY BEFORE THE OIL RESPITE RUNS ITS COURSE. EMBASSY AND APPROPRIATE US GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS COULD DO MUCH MORE IN THIS AREA.

11. POLARIZATION, OF COURSE, HAS NON-ECONOMIC ROOTS IN CLASS STRUCTURE AND IDEOLOGY. THE EMBASSY CANNOT SHAPE BRITISH SOCIETY OR ITS THINKING, BUT BY SPOKESMANSHIP AND REPRESENTATION WE MAY EXERT A CONSTRUCTIVE INFLUENCE.

B. THERE FOLLOW OUR SPECIFIC PROPOSED REVISIONS TO THE OUTLINE OF OBJECTIVES PROVIDED IN THE REFERENCE TELEGRAM:

I. SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

-- THERE IS IMMINENT DANGER OF A WAGE EXPLOSION. FOR EXAMPLE, THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS CONVENTION WILL BE DECIDING NEXT WEEK WHETHER TO ENDORSE THE RULE THAT WAGE INCREASES SHOULD BE GRANTED ONLY AFTER 12 MONTHS HAVE ELAPSED SINCE THE LAST AGREEMENT. DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS AREA SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE FOLLOWED NOT ONLY BY CONTACTS WITH BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND LABOR LEADERS, BUT ALSO BY INCREASED CONSULTATION WITH EXECUTIVES OF AMERICAN FIRMS LOCATED IN BRITAIN. ABOUT ONE-SIXTH OF THE LARGER EMPLOYERS IN BRITAIN ARE AMERICAN, AND THEIR ACTIONS WILL BE SIGNIFICANT BOTH FOR THE BRITISH ECONOMY AND THE AMERICAN IMAGE HERE.

-- PRESSURES ARE GROWING FOR SIGNIFICANT REFLATION THEY WILL PROBABLY REACH THE POINT NEXT SPRING WHERE A DEFINITE CHANGE IN POLICY, POSSIBLY REQUIRING AN ABANDONMENT OF THE IMF CONDITIONS, IS POSSIBLE. AS
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PAGE 03 LONDON 14748 02 OF 04 030908Z

CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT, WE SHOULD: SEEK TO PERSUADE BRITISH LEADERS OF THE LONG TERM VALUES OF ADHERING TO THE IMF CONDITIONS (HOLDING THE LINE ON PUBLIC SECTOR WAGE INCREASES), AND THE DANGERS OF SACRIFICING THESE VALUES FOR THE SAKE OF SHORT-TERM ELECTORAL ADVANTAGE; AND REMIND THE BRITISH AS APPROPRIATE OF THE DESIRABILITY OF A REALISTIC RATE FOR STERLING.

-- THE FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENTS FOR LONGER TERM REGENERATION OF THE BRITISH ECONOMY RELATE TO THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND THEIR INTRACTABILITY MAKES IT TEMPTING FOR BRITISH LEADERS TO IGNORE THEM. THEREFORE WE SHOULD SEEK TO REMIND THESE LEADERS BOTH OF THE POTENTIAL FOR BRITISH RECOVERY AND OF THE NEED TO INDUCE BASIC CHANGES IN BRITISH INDUSTRY AND, INDEED

SOCIAL RELATIONS IF THIS POTENTIAL IS TO BE REALIZED.

II. INCREASE ATTENTION TO THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

-- SINCE ELECTIONS MUST BE HELD BY OCTOBER 1979
AND APPEAR MORE LIKELY TO BE HELD IN 1978, CAREFULLY
MONITOR THE POLITICAL SITUATION, ASSESSING PRESSURES
FOR EARLY ELECTIONS AND ANALYZING HYPOTHETICAL ELECTORAL
OUTCOMES AS CONDITIONS CHANGE.

-- WHETHER OR NOT OPINION POLLS CONTINUE TO

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PAGE 01 LONDON 14748 03 OF 04 030913Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 LONDON 14748

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INDICATE THE LIKELIHOOD OF A CONSERVATIVE VICTORY IN
THE NEXT ELECTION, DEVOTE MORE RESOURCES TO STRENGTHEN-
ING PERSONAL CONTACT WITH LEADERS OF THE CONSERVATIVE
PARTY WHILE CONTINUING TO MAINTAIN CLOSE RELATIONS
WITH THE GOVERNMENT, OTHER LEADERS OF THE LABOUR PARTY,
AND THE TRADE UNIONS.

-- ASSESS THE LIKELY POINTS OF MAJOR DIFFERENCE IN
APPROACH OF THE LABOR GOVERNMENT AND A POSSIBLE TORY
GOVERNMENT ON ISSUES OF INTEREST TO US.

III. STRENGTHENING UK-EUROPEAN RELATIONS.

-- WHILE CONTINUING TO ENCOURAGE AN EFFECTIVE UK
ROLE IN THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY COUNCILS OF THE
NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, SEEK TO IDENTIFY AND ENCOURAGE
THE BRITISH TO PURSUE OPPORTUNITIES FOR A MORE ACTIVE

ROLE IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS, IN KEEPING WITH THE LONG-TERM TREND TOWARD UK CONCENTRATION ON THE EUROPEAN AREA OF HIGHEST POLICY IMPORTANCE.

IV. CONTINUATION OF BRITISH SUPPORT FOR EAST-WEST INITIATIVES.

-- CONTINUE TIMELY, IN-DEPTH CONSULTATIONS WITH UK
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PAGE 02 LONDON 14748 03 OF 04 030913Z

ON EAST-WEST INITIATIVES AFFECTING THEIR VITAL SECURITY, SUCH AS SALT, MBFR, CTB, CSCE REVIEW CONFERENCE, AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFER POLICY.

V. MAINTENANCE OF SECURITY RELATIONSHIP.

-- CONTINUE TO FOSTER HOSPITABLE CLIMATE FOR US UTILIZATION OF BRITISH MILITARY FACILITIES IN THE UK AND ELSEWHERE.

-- CONTINUE THE SPECIAL US/UK RELATIONSHIP IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION-SHARING.

-- BE ALERT TO SIGNS OF FURTHER DEFENSE CUTS AND ENCOURAGE RESTORATION OF PREVIOUS CUTS AS ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENTS WARRANT.

-- PRESS FOR A STRENGTHENING OF BRITAIN'S MILITARY CONTRIBUTION TO NATO, PARTICULARLY THE BAOR, INCLUDING UK IMPLEMENTATION OF THE THREE PERCENT DEFENSE SPENDING INCREASE AIM AND THE SHORT- AND LONG-TERM DEFENSE IMPROVEMENT INITIATIVES AGREED AT THE NAC SUMMIT.

VI. CONTINUATION OF BILATERAL COOPERATION ON REGIONAL POLITICAL ISSUES.

-- CONTINUE TO URGE ACTIVE BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN THE SEARCH FOR A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT AND IN OTHER ASPECTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLICY.

-- KEEP HMG CLOSELY INFORMED OF OUR EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

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PAGE 03 LONDON 14748 03 OF 04 030913Z

-- CONSULT CLOSELY WITH HMG ON PROBLEMS IN EAST

ASIA, THE CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA, SUCH AS BELIZE,
INVOLVING BRITISH DEPENDENCIES OR POST-COLONIAL
SITUATIONS.

-- IN GENERAL, BOTH ON ISSUES LIKELY TO COME UP IN
THE UNITED NATIONS AND ELSEWHERE, CONTINUE TO EXCHANGE
INFORMATION AND VIEWS WITH HMG IN ORDER TO TAKE ADVAN-
TAGE OF BRITAIN'S DIPLOMATIC EXPERTISE AND SPECIAL
ACCESS IN PARTICULAR AREAS.

VII. ENCOURAGE COOPERATION IN MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC
ACTIVITIES.

-- SEEK TO REINFORCE THE BRITISH INCLINATION TO
ADOPT POSITIONS ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES SUCH AS THE
COMMON FUND AND DEBT RELIEF THAT ARE COMPATIBLE WITH
OUR OWN, AND ENCOURAGE THEM TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN
THE COMMUNITY IN THIS AREA.

-- ON THE OTHER HAND, THE BRITISH INCLINATION ON
ANOTHER SET OF ISSUES--THE PROPOSED CODE TO PREVENT
ILLICIT PRACTICES; EFFORTS TO COMBAT THE ARAB BOYCOTT;
AND POTENTIAL EFFORTS TO REACH FURTHER AGREEMENT ON
THE INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF BUSINESS PRACTICES

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PAGE 01 LONDON 14748 04 OF 04 030910Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 LONDON 14748

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GENERALLY--IS TO BE SKEPTICAL AND QUIETLY NEGATIVE
ABOUT US INITIATIVES. THUS, WE SHOULD SEEK TO EMPHASIZE
THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION SO THAT, IF THEY DO NOT
JOIN IN AN EFFORT TO REACH INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT,

THEY AT LEAST WILL BE CONFRONTED WITH THE PROSPECT
AND POSSIBLE REALITY OF THE US ENACTING ADDITIONAL
LEGISLATION AND ENFORCING IT EXTRATERRITORIALLY.

VIII. NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION.

-- BRITAIN IS A VERY SPECIAL CASE IN THE AREA OF
NUCLEAR ENERGY AND PROLIFERATION, AND ITS POLICIES ON
ISSUES LIKE REPROCESSING AND THE BUILDING OF FAST BREED-
ER REACTORS, MAY MOVE IN DIRECTIONS CONTRARY TO THOSE
ADVOCATED BY THE ADMINISTRATION. IF THIS PROVES TO BE
THE CASE, A STRONG, EARLY EFFORT--BEFORE UK POLICY
JELLS--SHOULD BE MADE TO ENGAGE BRITISH POLICY MAKERS
IN THIS FIELD IN DISCUSSIONS WHICH WILL AIM AT INDUCING
THEM TO RECONSIDER THEIR COURSE.

IX. EMBASSY RESOURCE MANAGEMENT.

-- CONTINUALLY REVIEW MISSION RESOURCES WITH A
VIEW TOWARD ADJUSTING ASSETS TO BEST ACHIEVE THESE GOAL
AND OBJECTIVES.

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PAGE 02 LONDON 14748 04 OF 04 030910Z

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